

London, England

2 February 1949

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Subject: Project Educator - Preliminary Inquiries in London

To: Wash G

1. Undersigned arrived here on 18 January and is scheduled to leave again for Germany on 3 February. Upon arrival, he got in touch with the local representatives, as instructed by you, and received all the advice and cooperation requested.
2. The information summarized below was mainly obtained in interviews with the following:

Mr. Paul TOFAHRN, Assistant Secretary General of the International Transport Workers Federation, Maritime House;

Mr. STRAUSS, Technical Officer of the International Transport Workers Federation, as above;

Hans GOTTFURCHT, Liaison Officer for Germany with the British TUC.
Private residence: 20 East Heath Road, Hampstead;

Mr. Willy SANDER, Secretary of the Group of German Social Democrats in England. 33 Fernside Avenue, N.W.7;

Mr. FIELD, German Section of BBC, Bush House, Aldwych;

Mrs. Ilse LOWENTHAL, Librarian of the Wiener Library, 19 Manchester Square;

Mr. Keith, Counselor of Embassy, Political Division, U.S. Embassy;

Mr. CHILD, Director, U.S. Library of Information, 5 Grosvenor Square.

3. Of the total number of refugees from Germany who reached England during the Nazi regime, approximately forty to fifty thousand, only approximately twelve hundred were political refugees in the strict sense of the word, that is, persons who had to leave Germany because of their own individual political activities. Of these twelve hundred, approximately 250 were Social Democrats of whom all but hundred have gone back to Germany by now. Another 250 to 300 belonged to the Communist Party of Germany and most of them were ordered back after the war by their party. The British authorities did not object to repatriation into the Soviet Zone of Germany but screened carefully any application for return to the Western Zones. Those communists who refused to comply with the repatriation orders of their party, were

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expelled from the party, but this was, so far as the informants knew, more a refusal for personal reasons (such as marrying an English girl) than any determined political opposition. In addition, there were an estimated hundred German communists during the war in England who did all sorts of undercover work for their party and were therefore not openly identified with the group of communist exiles. I could not learn what became of these people. Altogether, the function of the remaining approximately 400 political German refugees, unless they have become entirely disassociated from German politics, is to act as liaison between the numerous visitors from Germany to London and the various British government agencies, political and other organizations concerned, and also to act as advisers on German affairs to various British organizations and agencies.

4. A new "German minority" has come into existence in England in the form of approximately 18,000 German ex-PW's who remained here voluntarily as free workers on private contracts, mostly working on farms, plus Germans now recruited for work in England in Germany, almost all women, mainly hospital staffs and domestic servants. The number of the latter group is at present approximately 5,000 and is expected to increase in the near future. Many of these ex-PW's and as well of these German women workers have joined the local British labor unions and have, as far as my informants knew, not formed any particular organizations of their own.

5. British activities aimed at re-educating and indoctrinating Germans appear to be manifold and of great variety. There are no postal restrictions against disseminating printed matter to any addresses in Germany through the British mails (apparently in contrast to the U.S. where undersigned heard only very recently a complaint from the German language weekly "Neue Volkszeitung" that they could send papers to Germany only to individually paying subscribers, but not make any widespread distribution through the U.S. mails). The training center at Wilton Park, formerly used for the indoctrination of German PW's, is now used for six weeks' courses attended by 60 students each from Germany and sponsored by the British Foreign Office. The students are selected in Germany by the British occupation authorities who, however, apparently accept recommendations by the political parties and other German groups. Another form is carried by an organization called "German Educational Reconstruction" (18 Rupert St., Piccadilly, London) which is mainly concerned with helping German schools and educators, as well as promoting German youth activities, exchanges of students and teachers, etc.

6. Certain English cities have "adopted" cities in the British Zone of Germany for the purpose of aiding these cities, receiving children from there for vacations, but also exchanging delegations of their respective municipal administrations and making other personal contacts. For instance, the cities of Bristol and Coventry have adopted the German cities of Hanover and Kiel (the latter two so far as undersigned knows happen to have both Social Democratic administrations).

7. The German language broadcasts of BBC include at present ten broadcasts totalling two hours and forty-five minutes a day. They are edited entirely by the British staff (which, however, includes a number of former German refugees who by now have become British subjects) and do not cooperate directly with any German organization. The transmissions are broadcast directly from London,

without relays on the Continent and are said to be heard all over Europe - at least BBC receives letters from German listeners even in remote corners of the Continent. The German Section is doing some listener research, based partly on listener panels in selected German cities and partly on the mail received in London (average 2,000 letters a month) as well as on public opinion research done by the British occupation authorities in Germany. All radio stations in the British Zone of Germany are organized in the Nordwestdeutscher Rundfunk, a corporation chartered similar to BBC and directed by independent board on which government political parties, churches, etc. are represented. The management is entirely German with only a few British liaison officers. According to my informant, there is no British censorship or other influence on the contents of the programs. BBC has maintained its monitoring services and is preparing for its internal use world-wide monitoring summaries. My informant did not know any special monitoring summaries of German language broadcasts only.

8. Otto STRASSER is not known by any of the informants enumerated to have any contacts in London. It was generally doubted whether he has contacts into the Soviet Zone of Germany (as was implied in some recent articles in the U.S. press). However, it may be noted that STRASSER, in an interview some months ago, mentioned as his "good man Friday" Herr Karl SCHUMACHER, chief of archives in the Württemberg - Baden Ministry of Justice in the U.S. Zone. This suggested to investigate this link.

9. The reports of the International Committee for the Study of European Questions (19 Eldon Road, London, W.8.), sponsored by Lord Vansittart, appeared to have a very limited circulation. So far as could be ascertained, they are not being received at the U.S. Embassy. In the files of the Wiener Library only report No. 4, dated May-June 1947, was found. This report mentions that the Committee has received "many letters from the three western zones of Germany". No definite evidence of any organized activity of this Committee in Germany was found. Eurt GEYER, who during the war had cooperated with Lord Vansittart in the Fight for Freedom movement, is still in London but no longer connected with Vansittart.

10. The International Transport Workers Federation (the only international association of labor unions which had remained active throughout the war and had remained in contact with groups in Nazi-occupied territories) has sent two delegations to Germany since the end of the war. Undersigned obtained copies of the reports of these delegations and discussed their contents at length with the two officials of the ITF listed in para. 2 above. The ITF recognizes that the German trade union movement, revived after the war, on a non-partisan and non-denominational basis, has made considerable progress. However, these officials appear concerned lest the trend to an exaggerated centralization lead the German trade unions toward some new "authoritarianism". They noted also a considerable number of ex-Nazis amongst the union members. They stressed in particular that the railway police, 30,000 armed men in the three western zones, is largely composed of former professional soldiers and ex-Nazis; admitting the men of the railway police into the railroad workers' union, a potential rallying point for Nazi elements had been provided, these ITF officials fear. They agreed that the influence of the communists among the trade unions in the western zones has been greatly reduced, but they are

not sure whether the communist influence may not suddenly increase again, especially if and when the discontent of the workers in Western Germany with the Western occupying powers increases. They also noted developments in the German white-collar workers union which may indicate a renewal of the nationalist tendencies which before 1933 made the white-collar workers one of the most successful recruiting grounds for the Nazis.

11. The Wiener Library, 19 Manchester Square, has been established by Jewish organizations as a collection of material first on anti-Semitism, then on Nazism and Fascism in general, and finally on the back-ground of German history and politics. It contains at present approximately 20,000 books, numerous newspapers and periodicals and files with many thousands of newspaper clippings. During the war, the facilities of the library were primarily at the service of British and partly also U.S. government agencies. It appears that its war-time files, especially in so far as activities of German exile groups are concerned, may still be the most complete collection of this specialized type anywhere and extremely useful for background research.

12. The Wiener Library obtains its newspaper clippings, in so far as German publications are concerned, from the Argus Nachrichten-Bureau, Berlin-Tempelhof, Boelckestrasse 91 A. For non-German publications, it is serviced by the International Press Cutting Bureau, 19 Grosvenor Place, London, S.W.1.

13. The following important reference books on Germany were noted in the Wiener Library:

Deutschland-Jahrbuch, 1949. Essen, West-Verlag. (A vast compilation of recent statistics, lists of radio stations, publications, universities, government administrations, political parties, etc.)

Handbuch der Lizenzen Deutscher Verlag. Berlin, 1947, published by Walter de Gruyter. (Complete list of all book and periodical publishers, licensed in all zones of Germany.)

Handbuch Deutsche Presse. Bielefeld, British Zone, Deutsche Zeitungsverlag. (Directory of all German newspapers and periodicals, containing also other useful information on press matters.)

Bibliographie der Deutsche Bibliothek, published in Frankfurt-Main. (A periodical list of all new books published in Germany.)

Die Deutschen Wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken Nach dem Krieg. By George Leyh, Tübingen, French Zone, Mohr, 1947. (A compilation of the post-war status of all major reference libraries in Germany.)

Europa-Archiv, Oberursel, U.S. Zone. (A periodical including a wide press review and bibliography.)

Die Deutsche Widerstandsbewegung im Spiegel der Ausländischen Literatur by Siegmund Schultze. Stuttgart, 1947, Reclam. (A comprehensive bibliography of publications on German anti-Nazi resistance.)

Die Ausplünderung des Deutschen Ostens. By Harold Esche, Munich, 1948, Münchener Verlagsbuchhandlung. (A comprehensive study of the economic effects of Soviet reparation policy in the Eastern Zone.)

14. Ernst Niekisch, Berlin, one time Social Democrat who then became a Nationalist, but opposed Hitler uncompromisingly and was sentenced to a long prison term before the outbreak of the war, has now become active in the SED. In the opinion of the undersigned, Niekisch' activities ought to be investigated as one of the possible links between communists and extreme rightists.

15. In the files of the Wiener Library, undersigned found a typewritten statement by the retired police colonel Dr. Schützinger, Berlin-Charlottenburg 4, Niebuhrstrasse 56. This man was before Hitler prominent as one of the few German professional officers who was an active pacifist and republican. His statement refers in particular to a group headed by Col. Wolfgang Müller in Hanover, called "Forschungsgemeinschaft Alter Berufsmilitärs der Widerstandsbewegung Zur Bekämpfung der Verratslegende", an organization apparently concerned with refuting nationalist rumors asserting that the 20th July conspiracy and other resistance moves amongst the German Army were to be held responsible for Germany's defeat in the recent war.

16. Col. Wolfgang Müller also wrote a book "Gegen Eine Neue Dolchstoß" published in Hanover, 1947, by Das Andere Deutschland. This is a very detailed diary concerned with the 20th July conspiracy which seems to contain, so far as undersigned could judge, a number of details not reported in earlier publications on that same subject.

17. At present, according to the ITF, only few German seamen are employed on German ships calling on foreign ports. It was not known to these informants whether at present German seamen are allowed to be hired by foreign ships calling on German ports. They were positive, however, that traffic between ports of the Soviet Zone of Germany and foreign countries, notably western countries such as Britain, is not carried by either German ships or German crews, but by Polish, Russian and occasionally British or neutral (presumably Swedish) ships.

18. There still exists a group of approximately 800 Sudeten Germans in London. A good many of these have become British subjects and have organized the Anglo-Sudeten Club, 204 Kensington Park Road, London, W.11. Leading amongst the Sudeten Germans are the Sudeten German Social Democrats still headed by Wenzel Jaksch. This group has no contact with the new Czech emigration. In Germany the Sudeten German Social Democrats have joined the German Social Democratic Party. One of their leaders, Reitzner, has become vice-chairman of the Social Democratic Party in Bavaria. Nevertheless, informants agreed that there was a strong nationalist and irredentist movement amongst the Sudeten Germans and other eastern expellees in Germany. One form of organization of these expellees are the "action committees" formed in most expellee camps (and apparently in part penetrated by communist agents coming from the Soviet Zone under the pretext of being politically persecuted) and more recently a "Bavarian Parliament of Refugees" has been elected in which the above-mentioned Reitzner plays a prominent role.

19. On January 26 the Paris edition of the New York Herald Tribune carried a 3-column article headlined "Neue Zeitung Turns Nationalist", accusing the present management of this newspaper published by U.S. Military Government in Munich and Berlin of having been successfully penetrated by Nazis and other extreme rightists. One salient point made was that the present American editor in chief, Mr. Kendall Foss, with a staff of only a very few other Americans, was facing a German editorial staff of about 250 whom he could apparently not manage. This article was used by several of the informants, notably by Mr. Strauss, of ITF to warn undersigned against the degree to which German Nazis and other rightists had gotten the better of the U.S. authorities in Germany. Mr. Strauss, who had been in Berlin only a few weeks ago, confirmed in great detail the allegations of the article quoted.

20. In a publication of the German trade unions in the British Zone "Der Bund", Cologne, January 1st, reference is made to an organization, "Kampfgruppe Gegen die Unmenschlichkeit", described as formed by people released or escaped from concentration camps in the Soviet Zone. If this group is not already known, it might well be worth investigating.

21. Dr. Fritz Lowenthal, at present employed as a Reuter correspondent in Frankfurt-Main, is identical with Paul*Serling, during the war one of the chief ideologists of the socialist group, "Neu Beginnen" and appears to be now one of the foremost representatives of post-war neo-Marxism, as expressed in his book "Beyond Capitalism". He is apparently now a British subject.

22. Amongst the material collected by undersigned here is a book "Die Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands in der Weimarer Republik" by Ossip K. Flechtheim, published in 1948 by Bollwerk-Verlag Karl Drott, Offenbach A.M., U.S. Zone. This book is a rather factual and well-documented history of the German Communist Party up to 1933 with a good bibliography, and is therefore recommended for training purposes and as background material. The author indicates in the book that he is at present assistant professor at Colby College, Waterville, Maine. On page xiii he identifies himself in a footnote with "Florin". The latter name was, to the best of undersigned recollection, the cover name for a man who at one time, notably in the early 30's, was outstanding in the German Communist movement. The inside knowledge of party history shown in this book can also hardly be explained by library research alone. Some pamphlets written by "Florin" can presumably be found in the Library of Congress or in the New York Public Library. Undersigned strongly recommends further investigation.

23. The material collected by undersigned in London, several books and pamphlets, the two ITF reports referred to in paragraph 10 above, and a variety of newspapers (which undersigned reduced in the meantime to clippings) will be forwarded by separate pouch to undersigned in Germany.

Distribution:

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